



The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

Vol. IV. No. 13

CHICAGO, ILL. JULY 1, 1907

50 Cents Per Year

Christian Socialists

Address Before the Conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship

By G. H. Strebell

We are here to-day to voice our fealty to the Socialist movement and to its political representative, the Socialist party.

We are Christians holding more or less to the beliefs of the communions we belong to. To all of us probably there has come a time of searching, of investigation, of the reasons for our faith in the fundamentals of our religion. Such a time came to me years ago and I read and studied and am more or less familiar with the arguments and methods of thought of the monist position. When I began to study Socialism, I quickly saw that the economic truth was free to Christian or pagan, to monist, or theist or trinitarian. I attended the first national convention of the Social Democratic party and boldly, but alone, gave out my views. If I had met there in that convention a number of other Christian men, who were attracted by the truth of the Socialist philosophy; if I had not heard there the laugh of derision when a farmer delegate, using the natural expressions of American speakers, thanked God for the Socialist movement; if I had not been repelled by the claim made over and over again that to accept the fundamentals of Socialism was to have all faith in a Christian experience destroyed; if there were not yet speakers and writers who use the philosophy of Socialism to spread their own private ideas of agnosticism; there would be no need to-day of our Conference.

I am a Christian and a Socialist; that is not to say that my Christianity and my Socialism is a medley. I know what Christian Socialism means in other countries, and I also know that no Socialist preaches that doctrine in this country. Christian Socialists, we may call ourselves, but we are not here in this fellowship to formulate a new school of thought, not here to sow division and dissension, not here for any other purpose but to join ourselves in a working brotherhood that will break down the wall of separation that exists between separate portions of the working class, those who belong to the churches and those who do not.

We do not propose to neglect the ordinary party work to which we are pledged as party members, but we do feel called upon to proclaim to our fellow Christians the truths of Socialism.

The great mass of the people of this country are more or less religious; the great majority hold more or less closely to some religious communion and we must win them over to Socialism if we are ever to succeed.

The materialistic conception of history, economic determinism, the class struggle and the exploitation by means of surplus value are our topics; a working class movement that shall create a just society, our object. To this message, the average church member is responsive. It sounds almost too good to be true. They have a speaking acquaintance, as it were, with the minds that are going to see the New Jerusalem come down from heaven, creating a new, just society by a miracle, but they have observed that the age of miracles is past. So they listen with delight, as the Socialists speak of the movement of material forces that are bringing the miracle to pass. They are intelligent to see at once the reason in our arguments and our increasing numbers fill their minds with respect and a desire for more knowledge; they will prove serviceable allies in our hour of need.

The movement to enlighten and to enlist the church people in Socialism is a wise one strategically. If the church should confederate to establish

a just social order, driven to it by Socialist antagonism, it would naturally strive to make itself the chief beneficiary. There would be Christian Socialist parties in politics kept under clerical control; this is full of peril to the church and to the Socialist movement itself.

The church in this country has been put in condition for this message of ours. It is democratic, and, with few exceptions, governs itself; it works best where social equality is greatest. All recent church movements have tended to draw its membership into active work. They have to care for the the poor. "They are buried," as Prof. Rauschenbusch says in his great work, "The Church and the Social Movement," "at times under a stream of human wreckage; they have a right therefore to inquire who is unloading this burden of poverty and suffering upon them by underpaying, exhausting and maiming the people." They feel the pulsations of the new order; they are radical and have the strong bent towards politics which Calvinism ever had. They try to bring the religious forces to bear on public affairs.

A church which believes in political democracy can easily learn to believe in industrial democracy. It has one foot in the people's camp.

Though it suffers, in the minds of our foreign born citizens and their children, for the sins of the church abroad, it is yet permeated with the spirit of revolution inherited from its founders. There is to-day enough of a minority in it to keep our judgment in hopeful suspense and to cause us to work in it with ever-increasing ardor.

The idea of personal salvation after death no longer monopolizes the Christian hope. That means that the old enthusiasm is now directed more and more towards the regeneration of so-

ciety. The change to the Socialist ideal to-day would not be as great as the change that has already come from the old individualistic ideals. It needs only the knowledge of the Socialist philosophy. This we must give.

Who can blame us if we use as arguments to draw attention to Socialism, the Bible message, the evident purpose portrayed in it that justice shall rule in the world.

We are perfectly justified in invoking the name of the Great Founder of our religion, not as he is set forth by the churches to-day, but as the champion of a great movement for a more righteous social order.

If we were to classify Him to-day, should we put Him with the class rulership of the world, or with the religious autocrats who strive to perpetuate a religious authority, or with the men who are giving their heart and life to the propaganda of a new Social order. Where should we place him?

What of the men and women who shall, who are, delivering this message? Prof. Rauschenbusch says, "The men who have worked out the new social Christianity for themselves constitute a new type of Christian."

It is easy to single those out who have had a vision of the Socialist conception. The horizon is wider, the sympathy more catholic, the faith more daring. It is profoundly significant that they predominate everywhere, and the type propagates itself. The new salvation is contagious.

Of course there seems to be vagueness in the transition. The new ideas take such a profound hold that all other Christian truth seems outworn in comparison and the Christian is apt to veer away from the established course and fly off on a tangent. If he encounters coldness, he may get out of the church in disgust, but this is only because at present he is so alone. When there are many thinking the same thoughts, exchanging and correcting their ideas, the vagueness and impulsiveness will cease.

We have at present an open door into the churches; let us walk in boldly and take possession.

Priest in High Standing Resigns

Rev. Elliot White, Rector of Episcopal Church, Goes Into the Socialist Movement to Fight the Battle of Righteousness

One by one the strongest men in the church and the greatest intellects in the nation find themselves compelled to take a bold stand and declare to the world their supreme determination to protest against the brutal and inhuman system which is destroying the race and give themselves to a life of service in the glorious movement which is destined to usher in the co-operative commonwealth.

One by one men of influence and power are brought to see that competition means war and that no reforms can stop the privation and suffering without overthrowing the system and removing the cause.

One by one those men recognize the truth and reasonableness of the Socialist philosophy and see in its application the only and real solution of the problem that concerns all the world.

And now comes a man whose whole life is so noble and whose every act is so kind and whose entire record is so full of good works to put himself shoulder to shoulder with the comrades who are already in the harness working hard for the salvation of mankind.

Rev. Eliot White, of St. Johns Episcopal Church, Worcester, Mass., has just recently declared his convictions and resigned his position as rector.

Following is the statement read to the church: "My Dear Friends and Parishioners:

"I have come to the conclusion, after long deliberation, that

It Will Be Best for Me

to-day, to announce to you, with sincere regret, my purpose to resign the rectorship of St. Johns Church, at the close of ten years' service.

"I became your rector, Oct. 14, 1897, and I feel now that I must ask that next Oct. 14, which completes the decade, shall also terminate the relationship between us as minister and people, which, for me, at least, will be truly difficult to sever.

"Our relation as friends nothing will terminate I feel sure, and I shall always esteem as indeed a treasure, the loyalty and affection you have shown me, and hope to keep it through all changes and chances of the future. Certainly you may count and call upon me for all affection and service to the limit of my capacity.

"I think it is well to make known my decision as far ahead as this of the time for the resignation to take effect, so that there may be ample opportunity to call a new rector, and have no interruption necessary between the close of my term and the beginning of his.

"Changes are seldom easy to make, and that

is by no means the easiest which involves a parish and its minister. But I am convinced that a change is now advisable at St. Johns, and hope that it can be made with the least possible disturbance of the parish life. I have not been called to another post, and have

No Plans to Leave This City,

which I have come to care for with cordial regard. My hope is to work here in whatever lines of opportunity shall offer, to fulfill certain ideals of Christian service of my fellow men which I believe to be of great importance.

"After careful consultation with the vestry, it has been deemed inexpedient for the parish to be held in any degree answerable for certain of my convictions concerning social welfare, and I therefore certainly ought to relieve St. Johns people from any such responsibility. It is only fair to my stewardship to add that far from relinquishing the ministry of Christ, my whole purpose is to fulfill its claims at all costs. And after my rectorship here is ended, I shall still hope for your support to this extent, that you will believe that I am trying to live up to my lights in applying the Master's teachings to present-day problems.

"Finally, I am glad that no goodbyes must be said just now, but that if nothing unforeseen happens we have yet a season together in the old and treasured association."

Comrade White adds to his resignation the following clear reasons for his action:

"I resigned the position of

Secretary of the Diocese

in April, after serving for five years. I am not making this change suddenly nor without thought of what it means to me. It is a matter of mature deliberation, one which has been the result of long, serious and careful study, and one with which my wife fully coincides with me.

"As I say in the letter, I have no other post to go to, and for the present am not seeking one. The vestrymen of my church were taken into my counsel, and the subject was thoroughly canvassed with them, and after still further deliberation on my own part and consultation with Mrs. White, I wrote the resignation, and this morning I read it to my people.

"The matter of a man of my age leaving the church with which he has labored so pleasantly for a decade, means a sacrifice and a regret. I duly realize such a course is apt to be wrongly construed. But there is one thing which you may emphasize in your statement in the press, and that is whatever may be the results, I am not doing this half-heartedly, but am making it with a due appreciation of its meaning and with a sincerity of purpose that gives me courage to face all it may mean in effort and possibly in adverse criticism.

"I have become convinced of a few general propositions concerning our

Political and Social Organization

which make me believe it is the duty of the people to give attention to the correction for the good of all. It seems to me the working people of the United States are not markedly better off in their wages, when we compare them with their earning ability and their scale of living, than they were fifty years ago. They should have a larger share of our prosperity.

"The increasing fortunes of the rich and the continuing destitution of the poor seem to me to show something is wrong, not merely in temporary conditions, but in the economic structure of society as at present organized. The root cause of the major part of the present social inequality and injustice is the same that St. Paul long ago said was the root of all evil, 'the love of money.'

"This, in modern paraphrase, may be called the craze for profit. I look to see no permanent and thoroughgoing reform until this craze for profit is succeeded by the enthusiasm for the welfare of the weakest, the poorest and even the most disreputable member of society.

"National and communal ownership of the means of production and of the sources of supply of all public necessities, seems to me the greatest end to work for that a

Christian Can Find to Do

in the field of his Master's work.

"That such a consummation would change human nature is impossible, but that it would give

human nature a chance to develop its native goodness seems to me to be certain.

"At present the depravity of human nature, of which we have heard till we are weary of the accusation, is largely traceable to involuntary poverty, foul home surroundings and the tidal wave of temptation overwhelming the weakened resolution.

"Corruption in politics, in high finance, in the world of banks and insurance companies, in railroad management, the riotous living of the idle rich and the sordid hardships of the common laboring people, the unemployed and the tramp, are all together poisonous growths from the root stock of what may be summed up under the title of the profit system.

"My purpose is to work in every honorable way without compromise for the bringing in, in the place of that system which is crumbling to its fall, the co-operative commonwealth, which seems to me to be the only material framework for the kingdom of God on earth."

Arthur G. Warren, senior warden of St. Johns Church, said:

"There has been no conflict between Mr. White and the people of the parish, I am sure, and he will quit the service of the church with the love and

Respect of All the People

What he has done was done voluntarily. There are some of the members of the vestrymen, possibly, who believe with Mr. White on many points of his doctrine of social economics. But as a whole it could hardly be said the vestry or the parish was in sympathy with his beliefs on that line.

"There is no question of his orthodoxy, and no one doubts that he is as good a member of our faith as he should be. The matter reduces itself to the proposition that Rev. Mr. White has become convinced that he can not continue the position as rector of the church without promulgating from the pulpit, or under such conditions that the church would be put in the position of endorsing his action, certain doctrines which are admitted to be in advance of the present belief of the average community along lines of government. Believing this and wanting to act consistently with himself and the duties he believes he owes the people of the church, he regards resignation as the proper course, and the vestry has agreed with him.

"He has not flaunted his doctrines on the congregation through his sermons. But recently his sermons have savored somewhat of certain economic doctrines, hardly in keeping with the belief of the average member, I think it is fair to say the church regarded the rector's views a bit

In Advance of the Parish

on questions of government.

"But no one questioned his right to have opinions. His sermons have all been of high character, intellectually deep, and always interesting and instructive. What there was in his sermons that savored of economic doctrinal teaching was guardedly presented, and free from any appearance of radicalism.

"The resignation was a surprise even to the vestrymen, for we hoped the rector would change his mind, and see some way to continue in the service of the church. We never had a rector who did so much for St. Johns as has Rev. Mr. White. When he came to the church we had a debt of \$8,200. He proceeded to lift that debt, and raised enough more money to do repair and refitting work that cost approximately another thousand dollars. He planned out an endowment policy and to-day the church has \$1,000 in Mechanics savings bank as a result of it. He is loved universally and respected by all the people of the parish, and the vestry expresses the regret of all when they say they regret the change."

Rev. Mr. White is a son of Dr. John S. White, president and headmaster of the Phillips Brooks school at Philadelphia, a select boys' school. He received his early education in the schools of New York and took his freshman year's work in the Columbia school of arts, entering the school with the class of 1891. He

Entered Harvard University,

graduating with the class of 1892, just twenty years after his father graduated. He received his Christian name Eliot, because of his father's admiration for President Eliot of Harvard.

At his graduation from Harvard in 1892, he

received the degree A. B., magnum cum laude, with honorable mention for work in Greek, Latin and philosophy, and was assigned to one of the five speaking parts at commencement from a class of 300.

After graduation from the theological school he accepted the position of assistant to Rev. Dr. Huntington at Grace Church, New York, and was assigned to work on the

East Side Tenement District,

New York. He lived and worked there much of the time for two years and learned much of the condition of life among the extremely poor of the great metropolis. It was while working there that he received much of his fund for thought which has finally changed his purpose, he says.

He received the deacon and priestly order from Bishop Potter while he was working with Rev. Dr. Huntington.

He accepted the position of rector of St. Johns and began duties Oct. 14, and will sever relations there at the tenth anniversary.

When Mr. White came to the church he started reforms in the church by making opposition to church fairs and suppers. He won his point, though at first the members of the parish believed they would not be able to meet their running expenses unless they were allowed to sell beans by the plate and second-hand goods at rummage sales. Instead of deficits, as had been the custom, Rev. Mr. White soon had money flowing in faster than it was needed. By the offerings laid on the altar at the six Easters from 1898 to 1903, he wiped the debt of \$8,200 off the books and kept money for current expenses from other offerings. As a result the church was consecrated Sept. 29, 1903, six years

After He Became Rector,

while there had been but \$2,000 of the debt paid in the fourteen years preceding.

He was the promoter of the endowment plan, of which Senior Warden Warren says there is now \$1,000 in bank.

When Rev. Mr. White decided he could continue no longer to be the rector of the church and do what work he believed he should, he called the wardens to his home and explained his position to them. They urged him to consider and again he took time. Then he asked that a meeting of the vestry be called and, May 25, there was a meeting.

When he had made clear his conviction on the points involved and had put his case squarely to the vestrymen, they agreed with him. There seemed to be but one safe course, and that was resignation. That was after Rev. Mr. White made the offer that he would pay the salary of an associate whom the vestry might call from his own funds, and the associate might do the pastoral work of the parish and look after the duties of rector, still giving Mr. White the position of rector.

He says he wanted to allow the associate to do the chief pastoral work of the church, and give him a chance to attend to what he regards as the campaign for civic righteousness.

The resignation will affect his relationship with the Episcopal church in no way. He is to be a

Priest of the Church

without a parish assignment, and may take another appointment at any time he may choose to do so."

Comrade White will be warmly welcomed in the ever-increasing ranks of the heroic men and women who are sacrificing their lives in the greatest work ever undertaken by mankind.

The future is full of hope. Victory is at hand. Peace and good will to men will soon be a reality.

—J. O. B.

"Forgings of the New"

BY

Franklin H. Wentworth

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PUBLISHED BY

SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO.

15 SPRUCE STREET, NEW YORK

Social Values—I.

BY REV. GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

How shall we estimate social values? What is a man worth to society, and what equivalent shall it return him for his services? At present we assume that any person is worth what he receives in wages or profits. It is a rough and not altogether exact method of estimating what a man accomplishes for his fellows in actual service of one kind or another; but we receive it as the only one that is valid or that can be generally accepted.

When a man is dead we praise him for his virtues, for his good deeds, for his public service, for his unselfish interest in the needs of others; but while he is alive we have no sure way of rewarding him for such work, even though he devote his entire time to it with unflinching loyalty, and complete self-abnegation. We praise a man for such service, for his spirit of brotherhood, his fidelity to ethical purposes; but there is no money in it, is the estimate of its value placed upon it by the practical man.

We are not blind to the worth of social service, and we do not fail to estimate it at something like its real value. Because we have no unfailing standard for it, however, except that of money, our recognition of its worth is lame, bungling, irrational; and we often praise what harms the social body, and ignore what is of the highest value. Patriotism, in the form of unqualified praise of one's country or blind obedience to its captains, in time of war, is estimated at its full value; but no other kind of social service is valued at its real worth except that of money-getting.

In a groping, instinctive way we feel that patriotism and money are not the only real things in life; and that men may be of the greatest value to the nation who are not patriotic, and who have not great wealth to leave as an inheritance to their families. We have a feeling, too, that money may be harmful as well as helpful; and that riches may mean ill-gotten gains and robbery. While many are ready to praise the rich man because of his wealth and the power it gives him, they are not always careful to consider the ethical significance of its possession. Others are inclined to think all rich men are in some way harmful to the nation, and they speak of them in terms far from flattering, attributing to them many of the evils from which the nation suffers, such as the increase of poverty, the corruption of legislatures, and the widespread political depravity.

It is assumed that a man ought to be judged according to his character, his manhood, his ethical fidelity. We are told such a standard is the only right one, and yet those who admonish us as to the worth of ethical principles are far from applying that standard with unfailing loyalty to its demands. The readiness with which churches bow down to the rich man and permit him to control their teachings, and the facility shown by missionary societies for finding wealth of all kinds of unimpeachable integrity when given to their purposes, show how easy it is to forget ethical principles in the face of immediate money demands. With all the wisdom represented in our universities, we find they cannot always resist the appeal of wealth or the subtle, insidious failure of ethical demands when its call is heard.

We are in need, without doubt, of an ethical revival; but are we to expect it from the accredited teachers of morals? With no wish to be unjust, and with no hatred of those institutions which have in their keeping the ethical conduct of the people, we cannot ignore the fact that from these sources we are not, at the present time, getting a moral teaching which is incorruptible and always just. We see that there are many who bow the knee to Baal, who permit wealth to control their ethical judgments, and who have nothing to say against the robbery of the people by those in high places.

We do not need a new morality, but a recognition in conduct of that which the world has always known. A few simple principles would set us right with ourselves and with others. We need the application of justice, honesty, manliness to the whole of the conduct of life on the part of all men alike. If these principles mean anything, they must mean the same thing for all men, everywhere, in all callings, in every place of business. If legislation has made it possible for some men to take into their possession what others have earned, and if the courts have decided

that this is legal, and that there is no constitutional power in the nation to resist this dispossession of the earners of the fruits of their labors, we have the right, nevertheless, to protest in the name of justice, manhood, and ethical integrity. We know that no process of legalizing robbery can make it other than wrong, whatever the sanctions which may be given it by legislature and court. Ethical principle does not sanction injustice on the part of the rich and powerful, and it will sooner or later call them to judgment in no unequivocal terms.

We cannot doubt there is a serious need for an ethical revival in this nation, that the old simple morality may have its just recognition in conduct. It is often said that the workers of the country are lazy, intemperate, unthrifty, rebellious; but what shall we say of those who live in luxury, who are indifferent to human welfare, who hold themselves to be the lords of the earth? Need enough in both cases for sounder living, for a higher estimate of humal values, for less of selfishness and unethical conduct. It is so easy to blame the class to which one does not belong, that we are too likely to forget what are our own vices in condemning the want of virtues on the part of others.

The prosperous know only too well what are the faults of the workers and the poor. They are very sure that more of thriftiness, a steadier application to work, much less of intemperance, a more careful expenditure of wages, would make this class as prosperous as themselves; or, at least, as prosperous as they ought to be.

On the other hand, how can the workers fail to note the luxury, the wastefulness, the vicious living, the corruption of the public life on the part of the wealthy! Sometimes they note these things to condemn them, and to do it with no unsparing words and in a rebellious spirit, a spirit which means revolution in due time. The majority, however, note these things to imitate them, to ape the manners and the habits of living of the luxurious, and to seek to hold a social position their poverty will not long permit. In this way the rich not only corrupt themselves, but all other classes. They must be held accountable for much of the growing immorality of the land, much of the increasing disregard of ethical principles, much of the corruption of politics, much of the depravity which controls in public affairs. They have opportunities greater than those of the workers, and they are to be held accountable for more of the evils which society presents.

It is not to be assumed that any repetition of moral principles will make right our industrial and political life. An ethical revival that will really bring us a new life—a life sound and wise and just—must do more than reiterate the old standards, however right those may have been and are. We need something which will take hold of business, that will control industrial conditions, and that will adjudicate between man and man on the basis of a genuine democracy.

We have been told too often that every man can set right his own life, and that the doing so is his first business. Such a declaration seems very simple, because it appears on the surface of human experience as if it were possible for every man to be good if he would only decide so to do, and adhere to his resolution. When we look at things as they are we discover that no man lives to himself that *conduct belongs to social conditions*, and that no man is ever good in and of himself alone. Our moral conduct is the result, in part, of heredity and environment; in part, the product of industrial and social conditions. It is not to be assumed that any one is the mere victim of circumstances, and that his conduct is beyond his own control; but we have no right to assume that it is as easy for one to be good as another, or that by merely willing it we can be saints. Man is moral because he lives in society, because he lives with others, whose interests must be regarded as well as his own. All morality is social in its origin, and finds its sanctions in the fact that man lives as a member of a human society of some kind. If it is savage and barbarous, his morality will be crude and childish and brutal; but if it is civilized, he will have ethical ideals purer and nobler.

It is without doubt better for any man to live a clean and decent life than one beastly and unjust. Such a life, however, does not belong to any one class in society, and may be found in the ways of poverty as readily as in those of riches. The

ignorant are not always vicious, nor are the learned always just. Why this is true may be readily understood if the fact is recognized that morality is social in its basis and its motives. Men adhere to the morality of their class. The mill-worker has not the social standards of the mill-owner, and does not measure conduct in the same manner. Perhaps he ought to accept universal standards, but where are they? It may be he ought to live a Christian life, but who shall set him the pattern? If he does as Christ did or as Christ taught, he is regarded as a fanatic. But if he tries to be a Christian after the pattern of the men of to-day, shall he follow one sect or another? Shall he think only of his own future happiness, and work out his own salvation with fear and trembling? Or shall he try to help others from the vantage ground of the prosperous Christian who gives a hundredth part only of his income to save the way of the poor in this world?

Traditional opinions and conduct are easily accepted, but they are based on conditions long since past, and that do not apply to the life of to-day. That is why the conventional words of morality count for but little to men who face present-day industrial conditions. We may recognize the fact that the life of to-day has its roots in the life of the past, and that we think and act as we do because men thought and acted in the past in the manner which history records; but this is not enough, for though the present grows out of the past it is not the same, and cannot be ordered along lines laid down by conditions which have been outgrown. What we need to do is to face the situation of the present time, with all the light on it history and experience will afford; but with determination to know it as it is.

What we see, then, is that men are controlled in considerable measure by their leading interests. The rich are not worse than other men, and their morality is not different. They are not richer than others because they have been justly, and with even balance, rewarded for social service rendered; but because our industrial and political conditions have allowed them to control great interests that are social in their nature. It is not the higher wisdom, the greater skill, the larger power of leadership which have given some men enormous wealth; but their control of the sources of the social output of human activities. That social output is what we call wealth, and these men have possessed themselves of franchises by means of which what the public produces goes to them and not to the community.

All wealth is the product of social activities. When we consider the origin and the nature of wealth we must see that it is never the result only of individual energies. No man by himself can produce any wealth whatever. Only where men live in ordered communities does wealth exist, and all increase in wealth is in proportion to the dependence men have on each other. The simple, primitive state produces but little wealth, but when its interests become complicated, organic, wealth increases. The greater the division of labor, the more varied the industrial conditions, the more intimate the dependence of one class in the community on another, the larger will be the opportunities for the production of wealth. Then we must assume that wealth is the sign of social complexity, of mutual dependence, of vast aggregations of men working to the same common end.

The more advanced a community in industrial capacity, that is, the larger its ability to produce wealth, the less possible is it for the individual to accomplish industrial results as the product of his own individual activities. The mechanic who works with his own tools, and is his own master, does not accumulate anything approaching riches. The farmer who owns so much land as he can cultivate with the aid of the members of his own family never becomes wealthy. In fact, wealth is an impossibility to any man, however clever or energetic, who depends on his own activities for its production. We may go even further, and, speaking candidly, with due moderation and calm judgment, say that no man can produce anything approaching a million dollars by his own activities. He may gain that sum without effort because our system of land-ownership permits him to profit by the rise of land values in a growing city. He may gain it because he can control practical monopolies in the

(Continued on Page 7.)

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST

Issued Semi-Monthly

PUBLISHED

The Co-Operative Printing Company
5408 Drexel Avenue - Chicago, Illinois

Entered as second-class matter January 10, 1907, at the post-office at Chicago, Ill., under act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Subscription Price - - 50 Cents Per Year

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Christian Socialism

BY HARRY S. RICHARDS.

Jesus of Nazareth, the founder of the Christian religion, was the first to teach that God is a loving Father, and that all men are brothers. Out of this conception of a human brotherhood has developed the principle of the social equality of all men.

Democracy—a government of, by and for the people, as the great Lincoln so aptly stated it, is founded upon this principle of absolute social equality. If all men are socially equal, it naturally follows that all men must enjoy equal rights and privileges; there must be no specially privileged classes in a true democracy.

The American Declaration of Independence affirms that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In order that all men may enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, all men must have food, clothing, fuel and shelter; and they are entitled to a just share of the finer things of life—education, art, music, drama, travel, etc.

In primitive times, land—the ultimate source of all material wealth—was so plentiful that all men could enjoy its use for the production of the necessities of life. The problem of securing a living and a share of the luxuries of life was then comparatively simple.

To-day, the land and the great instruments of production—the factories, mines, quarries, and the public utilities such as railways, telegraph, telephone, etc.—have passed into the ownership and control of a comparative few. Men are now forced to bargain with the capitalists, either individually, or collectively, through the agency of labor unions, for the privilege of earning a living.

The land and the great instruments of production, necessarily in the hands of a few under the competitive system, rightfully belong to all the people; certainly God so intended, and the teachings of Jesus confirm this truth. God never intended that a property-owning class should possess the land and the instruments of production and distribution which are absolutely necessary in order that all men may obtain a living. The air, the water, the sunshine, the land and all the natural resources are God's gifts to all His children.

The institution of private property in land, the great instruments of production and public utilities, has resulted in the creation of two distinct classes whose interests, under the competitive sys-

tem, are antagonistic. A plutocracy now controls our government and courts; the Wage-earning class owns comparatively nothing, and has absolutely no representation in our national legislature. As long as these classes continue to exist, social equality is impossible; in other words, democracy cannot exist as long as the institution of private property in land, the instruments of production, and public utilities exists. Without approximate economic equality, social equality is impossible.

The real function of any government is to secure the greatest good for the greatest number. The government—the people—must take over the function of producing and distributing the wealth, which all of the people have produced. Industry must be carried on for the benefit of all, instead of for a specially privileged, property-owning class—a class that now menaces the very structure of our government. Private property in land, the instruments of production and public utilities must be abolished, and its ownership vested in the whole people.

This is unquestionably a Christian program, for it would mean the substitution of co-operation on a national scale, for competition which is brutalizing the nation and economically wasteful; a brotherhood of men, instead of a continual struggle of man against man, mass against class, nation against nation; the greatest good for the greatest number, instead of special privileges for a few; the abolition of such social and economic evils as child and woman labor slavery, real estate speculation, unemployment, the sweating system, prostitution, warfare, stock gambling, landlordism, strikingly unequal distribution of wealth, poverty in all its hideousness, the enormous waste of time, energy and capital in the production of useless things, such as patent medicines, military equipment, intoxicating liquors, advertising matter, etc.

Socialism recognizes the natural inequalities of all men—physical, mental and moral. In a society based on social equality, personal ability would necessarily determine a man's fitness for public office. Civil service examinations would test each office-seeker's ability. Every individual would be given a free choice of occupation, subject only to the regulation necessary to determine his fitness for that occupation.

The PEOPLE would determine what each man's remuneration should be, according to the value of his services to the democracy. A minimum and a maximum salary would have to be fixed by law. A minimum and maximum amount of labor, depending upon its nature, would also be necessary.

By giving all men an opportunity to labor for the social good, instead of for purely selfish ends, you will ultimately do away with the unchristian motive of self-interest. By giving all men an equal opportunity for the development of good character, by improving their physical and moral environment, and enlarging their educational advantages, the health, intelligence and morals of the whole people will be wonderfully uplifted. By substituting co-operation for wasteful and ruthless competition, you will do away with brutalizing struggles between labor and capital. By trusting the ownership and control of the land, the instruments of production and the public utilities to their rightful owners—the whole people—you will restore a fundamental right to the nation, and reaffirm the soundness of the doctrine of the social equality of all men.

Socialism asks so little of the true Christian. Remember that Christ gave His life for you. Dare a true Christian refuse to give up the institution of private property in land, etc., in order that the greatest number may receive the greatest good? Socialism possesses so many advantages over the present system that no Christian should hesitate to cast his lot with the Socialists. The reason why Socialism has not come sooner is because professed Christian ministers and Christian people have permitted self-interest to become the dominating motive in their lives, instead of social-interest, as taught by Jesus. Socialism must not be confused with Utopian schemes or communism. Socialism is nothing more or less than applied Christianity.

Comrade Bentall is now in Denver, and we shall hope for a good account of his lecturing to and fro. Comrade Carr is home for a month's rest—and work.

"Little Girls and Reform"

The following article is taken from the "Chicago Daily News," and is well worth reading:

"The discussion excited by the recent action of a band of reformers in holding a street meeting in the Strand, South Chicago, has been an interesting one for several reasons. The space given to it by the daily papers was remarkable; the attention directed to it by the police department was unusual—we would suggest in passing that perhaps Chief Shipley's order was scarcely meant to be taken literally. We presume his command that girls under 18 years be not permitted 'to enter disreputable resorts under escort of religious workers' is not meant to indicate that girls of tender years not in company with 'religious workers' could pass unhindered into such places. The revelations of the last few weeks show that the police have very strict orders concerning such things.

"Another interesting feature of the discussion is the new role in which the dwellers of the Strand appear. Chicago is indeed becoming a model of purity when such people would fain champion the innocence of maidenhood.

"But the astonishing feature of the whole matter is this: No one seems shocked that a place so vile that a girl of 14 years cannot pass along its streets without fear of contamination should be allowed to exist in our city. This is the real shame. Think of it! A street in Chicago, the beautiful queen of the West, ruling over the fairest spot in this the most beautiful country of the world, a street so given over to vice that a girl of 14 years cannot, even in company with her mother, be on its streets without being robbed of her innocence and purity.

"It is indeed astonishing that such an event calls forth the most general criticism from reformers, pastors and even parents, instead of universal protest against the existence of such places. They seem silent as to the peril. What avails it that a girl went there in company with her mother? The thing to be shocked about is that the thing is there; that its continuance depends upon its being recruited by young girls; that it is sustained by men and women who have chosen as a business the luring of young girls into a life of shame and that the indifference of the people and the police permits such places to exist.

"MARY F. BALCOMB,
Secretary Young People's Christian Temperance Union, Chicago."

We advise Sister Balcomb to read George Kibbe Turner's article on Chicago's great immoralities in McClure's for April. It will do our reformers good to see how Chicago and her police thrive upon this "business of dissipation."

The "industry" pays from \$50 to \$75 apiece for girls brought to these hells for slaughter, and the police get a neat slice of the price paid. The victim has to pay it all after she is bought.

Now these same police who feed upon the weak and fallen and live upon this condition of fuming immorality, all at once become so highly sensitive that their whole attention is turned to saving some missionaries from contamination.

They remind one of Harry Orchard, who has been converted to religion by the majestic villainy of the mine-owners and their hirelings, the Pinkertons.

What a farce!

It is up to Sister Balcomb to study "causes." Get this straight and you will soon see why some of us Christians have become Socialists.

We do not look for reform; we do not work for reform in the underworld. We work for the removal of the cause that drags miserable human beings into these death-traps.

Socialism will remove the cause. It will make it profitless for the victims and for the keepers alike. It will make an honorable living possible and desirable. It will destroy the need and the hunger which have driven multitudes to take shelter in the haunts of sin.

The "red flag," and that only, will destroy the "red-light district."—J. O. B.

Owing to delay in getting all the copy concerning the recent Conference we must postpone important matter until next issue, which will be of great value to those who wish more thoroughly to understand the great Christian Socialist Fellowship movement.

A New Departure

The idea of studying music by correspondence did not at first appeal to me, but upon investigation of Dr. Quinn's methods as revealed in the correspondence courses of our fifteen-year-old daughter, I am convinced that the plan is not only practicable but in many respects peculiarly effective. She has accomplished a great deal during the last three months with very limited time each week. And the work is surprisingly thorough.

To every man, woman, boy or girl who has a strong desire to learn music, especially to those of limited time and money but with a definite musical ambition, I can give no more useful counsel than to write for full particulars to H. H. Robinson, Registrar, 643 Royal Insurance Building, Chicago.—E. E. C.

The Laborer's Sabbath

We are just in receipt of the following:

"Resolutions adopted by the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Maryland, assembled at Baltimore, May 29-30, 1907.

"Whereas, This Convention, in its standing Resolutions adopted in 1883, expressed its earnest disapprobation of the increased disregard for the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday; and

"Whereas, The stress of modern life seems to compel many persons to work on Sundays; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the members of this Convention exert their influence to persuade all corporations and other employers of labor to reduce to the lowest possible point of necessity all secular work on Sundays; and to see that all persons necessarily employed on that day be given some other one day in every seven for a day of rest.

"Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the Bishop, whose duty shall be to make known these resolutions to all employers of labor and their employees, as far as possible by direct communication, and also through the public press, and that they especially so make them known to all corporations in the securities of which this Convention is interested.

"Gentlemen, we earnestly ask your cordial co-operation in the promotion of this object.

"Respectfully yours,

"JAMES L. SMILEY,

"JOHN G. Sadtler,

"J. WIRT RANDALL,

"Committee."

This is a significant step taken by the great Protestant Episcopal Church. It is not a fanatical demand nor a creed-bound request, but a cry for one day of rest in seven for the laborer. In this effort the church should be supported as far as possible.

Under Socialism the church will not need to pass resolutions of this kind. The people will realize the wisdom of one day in seven of complete rest and relaxation and no corporations will then exist to force any one to work or lose his job. The only true solution of the Sabbath observance question is found in Socialism.

Our good church people should wake up to this fact and begin to work for the system whose principles harmonize with the laws of nature, which are the laws of God.

One of the reasons for so much Sabbath-breaking is found in the fact that people have no time for recreation and enjoyment during week days.

Why do laboring men fish and go out on excursions on Sunday? Why do they seek pleasure and sport on the day when their minds and bodies should rest? Why don't they go to church on Sunday?

Simply because this is the only day they have to fish, to boat, to play, to go to parks, to visit friends.

Give the laborer his just reward, which includes from five to seven hours of time that he is now compelled to surrender to his boss, and he will feel more like going to church and hal-low the Sabbath than is now the case.—J. O. B.

Peoria Starts Paper

The comrades of Peoria, Ill., have a good lively paper in the field which is one of their recent signs of progress and determination. It is called "The Peoria Socialist," and is a mighty fine sheet. It goes forth with a message once a week and

rings out in clear and convincing words the way of emancipation from wage slavery.

We welcome this recent addition to the great army of propagandists and congratulate the people of Peoria on their good fortune of having at last one publication that will be brave enough to tell the truth and clean enough to go into every home.

Rev. White's Resignation

It always gives me great joy to learn of a minister coming out for Socialism, and a feeling of deep regret and disappointment fills me when a Socialist minister leaves his church; for I am profoundly convinced that nine out of every ten, if not a much larger proportion, of our Socialist ministers can do far more good for Socialism and the real kingdom of God by standing quietly, sweetly, firmly for Socialism in their own churches, without ranting and harping too much on one string, than they can by coming out of the ministry. We need, most of all, ministers in the pulpit who will stand shining, like beacon lights, for Socialism and true religion through all the church.

And I find myself in a difficult, strange and sometimes amusing position as I go over the country trying to stir up the ministers and get them into trouble about Socialism, and then, after they are fully aroused, having to act as a pacifier trying to calm them down so that they will not become too radical for best service to the great cause!

It is generally the case that the pendulum of life, when released from the reactionary influences of a too great conservatism, will swing quite too far out on the other extreme. The man who can foresee and, before it is too late, assume something near the golden equilibrium, find the proper balance and stay there, will prove the most useful to his kind.

In leaving a church where he has been ten years rector, though the event is painful to him,

Dr. White may be doing what is best,—especially as he may now need a little time to look around, unaffected by undue influences, where he may view all circumstances more calmly, before plunging into the work of life in full accord with his new social vision. And I am particularly glad that he has not severed his relations with the priesthood of his church, that he remains in high esteem among his brethren and may soon return to the regular pastorate, there to preach the real religion of Jesus in all its spiritual and economic meaning.

This is what both the church and the world need most of all—a true, brave, wise, loving, faithful priesthood. "Like priest, like people."

In our next issue we will publish an able and suggestive article from the pen of Dr. White.—E. E. C.

Extract from Preface to Lyde's Commercial Geography:

"The study of geography from the economic point of view is of great moral and social importance, for it is essentially concerned with the production of necessities. The multitude have no leisure; their standard of comfort is bare necessity, and their lives are made utterly sordid and sad by the constant struggle with grinding poverty. Consequently, the physical conditions of their lives make moral and mental growth practically impossible. Of course, wheat could be grown on Ben Nevis, but only at an enormous expense; and souls are saved amid scenes of the deepest want and suffering, but it is—as it were—reaping upon Ben Nevis."

We want 50,000 subscribers. Subscribers mean Socialists. Get the point?

Although Canada postage has been raised we will send the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST at the regular price, 50 cents a year, but cannot give any club rates to subscribers in Canada.

Another Gideon in the Ranks

In the last issue of the Christian Socialist we told the readers how grandly comrade Park had come with one hundred dollars for shares plus four dollars to pay for ten sub cards to extend the work and influence of the paper.

We asked for three hundred men like that. Comrade Park suggested that an army like that of Gideon would rout the enemy of Socialism and bring the co-operative commonwealth near.

Since then several splendid lifts have been given. A number of comrades have sent in for ten sub cards. This means a great deal.

Will the ENTIRE READING CIRCLE get interested and send for ten cards? You remember what we said. If every subscriber would do that, WE WOULD HAVE THE FIFTY THOUSAND AND THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST WOULD BECOME A WEEKLY AT ONCE.

This must not be forgotten. Push it, talk it, work it, do it, make it go.

But we have good news to tell you, again another Gideon has come around and wants to put in one hundred dollars.

It is comrade Moyer, author of "Songs of Socialism." When he heard what comrade Park had done he burst out:

"That's fine—Splendid! I wish I could do the same. Yes, and I WILL do it. I can't give you the money—I haven't got it, but I will give you four hundred song books. Twenty-five cents each makes one hundred dollars, and I'll get ten sub cards, too. WILL YOU TAKE THIS UP?"

Thus spoke comrade Moyer and we answered:

"OF COURSE WE WILL TAKE IT UP. If the comrades of this country find out that you have sacrificed so heroically there will certainly be four hundred who will want to help out by getting the GREATEST SONG BOOK IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT FOR ONLY 25 CENTS."

So we took comrade Moyer at his word. Now we look for four hundred who will send 25 cents for one of these song books. The books are here donated to the cause.

When you send your quarter for this book, you are getting great value for your money. Comrade Moyer has enlarged the book, having added many new songs that are simply glorious.

Why not get a big lot of these books and use them in your local work. THEY WILL MAKE SOCIALISTS WHERE NOTHING ELSE WILL AVAIL.

Every branch ought to have several dozen. The young people—and the old, too—should learn to sing these songs. If a big lot of singing Socialists went out on a corner, in the city, they would draw a great crowd to a street meeting. It would prepare the way for the socialist message.

Think it over and send in 25 cents now. We want the four hundred books sold before the next issue reaches you.

Now who is the next Gideon? There is room for 298 more. But they are coming. Do not think that the idea is wild. You will soon be sorry you didn't get in earlier.

If you have some money that you want to use for the good of the world you cannot invest it in a better way. Help now while it is needed.

We are after the fifty thousand subscribers. Success is certain and we are happy to work for it. We are here to win.

Three things now:

1. Another Gideon for next issue.

2. Four hundred orders for "Songs of Socialism" now.

3. Five thousand orders for ten sub cards.

All the rest will send in as many subs as you can.

Watch this big corner, we will have something to tell you every issue. Everything is moving. Come along.

Items From Everywhere

Edited by George H. Strobel.

The Socialist party has a hard time between its impossibilists and irresponsibles.

ANOTHER PREACHER LEAVES HIS CHURCH.

In order to conduct a campaign of his own against industrial abuses and the corruption of politics, the Rev. Elliot White, rector of St. John's Episcopal Church in Worcester, Mass., has resigned his pastorate. Mr. White has become a Socialist and feels that his church is not yet ready to accept his advanced doctrine.

Though church and vestry alike regret his departure, the rector was unwilling to remain longer in a position where the church might be called upon to bear the responsibility for his rather advanced views of the social order.

The Rev. Mr. White is a student of sociological problems and some time ago he arrived at the conclusion, he says, that he could not refrain from preaching as he feels concerning matters of politics and government. Mr. White has become a Socialist, according to some of his vestrymen, or at any rate his views of social conditions and the remedies to be adopted for their alleviation are in advance of his parishioners.

If about a hundred more ministers left their pulpits for the same reason, all church members would be sure to think that there was something irreconcilable between Socialism and religion. Every such an occurrence deepens that impression and is a step backward. Ministers, stay in your pulpits and assert your right to your economic and political freedom. Your duty is to preach religion pure and undefiled, and none but a Socialist preacher can do that under the present system.

It will not do to quote texts of Marx and Engels and say, "If I destroy this, Socialism is destroyed." If such a text be quoted which comprehends an acceptance of the blatant atheism of Marx and Engels—the atheism of mid nineteenth century Europe—we are not concerned to defend it, because it bears no relation to the movement of to-day. If the text is an attack upon the institutions of the family and home, we are no more concerned to defend it than we are to defend the sex-communism of some of the early Christian sects.—John Spargo. This seems to be the sentiment of the Chicago Comrades after the Christian Socialist Conference.

Another Socialist daily. This time in Oakland, Cal. The Daily World is making a big hit on the coast. The first issue was sold out in two hours in Oakland and San Francisco. There is great interest exhibited all along the Pacific coast in the venture, and cash and subscriptions are flowing in, but of course not what is needed. Help all you can, Comrades.

In one issue of the Cleveland Citizen the advent of the "Saturday Evening Tribune" of Seattle; Walter Thomas Mills, Editor, Peoria, Ill., "Socialist;" "Justice," of Duncan, Indian Territory; a new Socialist party weekly at Indianapolis, Ind.; "The Socialist Woman," Chicago, Ill., were announced. This, with the news of the first issue of the Daily World of San Francisco and Oakland, Cal., all in the news covered by one week means growth.

The blood of the martyrs is the seed of —, but martyrdom is not and ought not to be a qualification for office. Efficiency, experience, a record unsullied even by suspicion, is far better in a candidate for President. The Socialists of America must nominate next year a man noted for his constructive talents. I propose the Hon. Carl D. Thompson of Milwaukee, member of the Wisconsin Legislature.

A new Socialist magazine will shortly be started from Lake Charles, La., entitled The Red Flag, and edited by May Beals. The subscription price will be a dollar a year, and those wishing to subscribe can address Miss Beals at Lake Charles, 424 Bilbo street.

The Florida Standard, of Jacksonville, has announced its advocacy of Socialism. It is the principal organ of the colored race, and it says that the only party that desires to do justice to the workers is the Socialist party and for that reason should be supported by the working class.

St. Louis "Labor" says the St. Louis comrades propose that the next national Socialist convention be held in Milwaukee, it being "the ideal city" for the purpose.

I endorse this proposition. Pass it along, and see what the comrades say.

Well, what do you think of that. Eighty-four Socialist members in the Austrian Parliament. The Socialist party is the only true political party. All the others are founded on race or religious lines, while our party is composed of the workingmen of all the various nationalities of that heterogeneous empire. The next largest body has about sixty members. This is the result of the universal manhood suffrage recently granted as a result of great Socialist demonstrations in the principal cities. The vote was over a million.

The new Parliament of Finland has been organized. The Young Finn party, the Socialists and the

Swedes formed the combination that was outlined in this paper several weeks ago. The Young Finns secured the presidency, the Socialists the vice presidency and the Swedes minor positions. The Socialists have the largest party but not enough seats to control.

Socialists of Sweden, encouraged by the recent great gains made by their comrades in Finland and Austria, are preparing to inaugurate a general strike to secure universal suffrage. They believe that, being given the right to vote, they can down capitalism.

In Italy the Socialists continue to make important gains. In the third congressional district of Florence, the Socialist candidate, Pacetti, was elected by a vote of 3,190 against 2,750.

In the canton of Basel, Switzerland, a printer has been elected president of the legislature, receiving sixty-nine votes out of 100. He was the candidate of the Socialists, who number thirty-five in the body.

At a special election in Belfast, Ireland, for member of the British Parliament, the Socialist candidate came close to winning the day. It was a great surprise to the politicians and they fear that they will lose the district in the next contest.

The Bavarian Socialists have scored this time. They have elected twice the number of members, about twenty-four instead of twelve of their local Parliament. The city of Munich elected eight Socialists and Neurenberg five. Bavaria is the second largest state of the empire. The clericals were the greatest sufferers by the change in votes and representatives.

The recent municipal elections in Copenhagen, Denmark, ended as in the past year with victory for the Socialists and Radical candidates. This year the Anti-Socialists failed to place candidates in the field, convinced in the start of the hopelessness of their case. The city councilmen of the capital are now as follows: Eighteen Socialists, thirteen Radicals, eleven Anti-Socialists. Should the proportional system of representation for communal elections not be introduced before long the Anti-Socialists are bound to disappear soon entirely in the municipal legislative body of the city.

The session of the Provincial Parliament of Vancouver, B. C., has closed, leaving the Socialists to boast a splendid record in legislative work. They have carefully scrutinized every measure, no matter from which side it came, with a view to making some change that might better even in a small degree the lot of the workingmen. Hawthornthwaite has been vigorous and vigilant as ever. Parker Williams has succeeded in gaining the ear of the house in a way that enabled him to do a great deal of work. John McInnes, with good work already accomplished, gives promise of yet greater service in the future. The greatest triumph of the Socialists during the past session was the unopposed passing of the eight-hour bill for smelters. This bill had been defeated in two previous sessions.

Current Literature

Edited by Rufus W. Weeks

H. G. Wells is the most brilliant of the younger English writers who have a vogue on both sides of the water. He is a man consumed with the intellectual passion for seeing truth in the large, and equally with the moral passion for the happiness of mankind, of the multitudes, especially the multitudes yet unborn. All that he writes is laden with stimulating ideas for Socialists, and with startling suggestiveness for non-Socialists. His books should be in every public library, especially the two latest, "A Modern Utopia," and "The Future in America;" and any Socialist who places them in the library of his neighborhood will be doing a service.

Wells' most ardent effort is to judge which are the vast sweeping tendencies in the life of the nations to-day, and so to estimate the goal of to-morrow. To make this effort for this country, he came here last year to "spy out the land;" and in "The Future in America," he tells what he saw and what he guessed. Freedom from prejudice, and the utmost frankness are the temper in which he sees and speaks; and Americans cannot fail to get light on themselves from a book so sincere, so vivid, so acute, so true-hearted.

What we have brought with us in our emigration from Europe, and what we have left behind, he sees very clearly.

"The American community does not correspond to an entire European community at all, but only to the middle classes of it, to the trading and manufacturing class between the dimensions of the magnate and the clerk and skilled artisan. It is the central part of the European organism, without either the dreaming head or the subjugated feet. So that in a very real sense the past of this American community is in Europe, and the settled order of the past is left behind there. This community was, as it were, taken off its roots, clipped of its branches, and brought hither. It began neither serf nor lord, but burgher and farmer; it followed the normal development of the middle class under Progress everywhere, and became capitalistic. Essentially America is a middle class be-

come a community, and so its essential problems are the problems of a modern individualistic society, stark and clear, unhampered and unilluminated by any feudal traditions either at its crest or at its base."

"To turn from any European state to America is to turn from complication to a stark simplicity. The relationship between employer and employed, between organizer and worker, between capital and labor, which in England is qualified and mellowed and disguised and entangled with a thousand traditional attitudes and subordinations, stands out sharply here in a bleak cold rationalism. There is no feeling that property, privilege, honor, and a grave liability to public service ought to go together, none that uncritical obedience is a virtue in a worker or that subordination carries with it not only a sense of service but a claim for help. Coming across the Atlantic has in these matters an effect of coming out of an iridescent fog into a clear bright air."

"The liberalism of the eighteenth century was essentially the rebellion of the modern industrial organization against the monarchical and aristocratic State—against hereditary privilege, against restrictions upon bargains—whether they were hard bargains or not. Its spirit was essentially Anarchistic—the antithesis of Socialism. It was anti-State. It aimed not only to liberate men but property from State control. Its most typical expressions, the Declaration of Independence, and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, are zealously emphatic for the latter interests—for the sacredness of contracts and possessions. Post-Reformation liberalism did to a large extent let loose property upon mankind. The English Civil War of the seventeenth century, like the American Revolution of the eighteenth, embodied essentially the triumphant refusal of private property to submit to taxation without representation. In England the result was tempered and qualified; security for private property was achieved, but not cast-iron security; each man who had property became king of that property, but only a constitutional and conditional king. In America the victory, of private property was complete."

"That tall Liberty with its spiky crown that stands in New York harbor and casts an electric flare upon the world is, indeed, the liberty of Property, and there she stands at the Zenith!"

Comrades of the Cross

"I enclose check to your order for ten dollars for which please send me sub. cards for the Christian Socialist. I know of many people who could best be aided by reading the Christian Socialist, and whom other Socialist literature would serve merely to prejudice. Different people must have the message delivered in a different way to make that message effective. Fraternally, Rose Pastor Stokes, New York."

Have you tried the Willard booklet for propaganda in your neighborhood? It breaks out like wild fire, and if you have not already ordered send in for at least a dozen which will cost you only seventy-five cents. We will send you a hundred of those booklets for four dollars. You can sell them and get your money back and make a profit if you want.

What are our comrades of the cross doing to get others to join this column? Every hustler ought not only to hustle for subscriptions, but to secure another hustler. Find some one that will send in a hundred subscriptions during the next few months.

Has any of the comrades a suggestion to make as to the best method of getting subscriptions? Tell us what we ought to say in the columns of the Christian Socialist to stir you people up. What is it that has made you take a hold of this work and what would you consider to be the elements of strength in an argument placed before the comrades? We want some striking suggestions and will publish them if they are real good.

How would you go at securing fifty thousand subscriptions? We want to reach this amount soon, and if you can give us a suggestion of how to do it we will give you a house without rent for fifty years after we have Socialism.

The Christian Socialist is booming. It must continue to grow steadily and rapidly. We are happy in the work and rejoicing in the prospect of the largest increase that a periodical of this kind has ever had in the history of the world. Now talk to your neighbor and get him to come in.

"Please send me sample copy of your paper. I have been thinking along this line for a number of years. I am a professed Christian seventy-five years young and have been socially inclined for quite a long time and have concluded it is the only way out of the wilderness of capitalistic bondage. Further, I believe it is the only plan or system that will make Christ's sermon on the mount practicable," writes Comrade Liggett of Missouri.

"I am more than pleased with the paper and am much obliged to the friend who was so kind to send it to me. I recommend it to others who ought to have good reading while I strain a point to read it myself."—(Rev.) C. M. Anderson, N. C.

Comrade Lelansky of Ohio, after sending in for ten sub. cards, adds in his letter: "I wish to express in

some measure my appreciation of the Christian Socialist. I have done much reading of Socialist literature, both books and periodicals, but there is nothing I look for more eagerly or read with more avidity than your excellent paper. Comrade Carr's recent answers to Dietzgen, LaFargue and Untermyer have been particularly helpful and inspiring to me, as was also Comrade Wilson's great article. The beautiful Christian spirit ought to win for it not only the enthusiastic support of every Christian in the Socialist movement, but, as well, the kindly toleration and respect of our materialistic friends. May it prosper abundantly."

"I received a copy of the June 1st Christian Socialist and am very much pleased with it. I am not a 'reverend,' nor even a church member, but I realize the tremendous impetus which the cause of Socialism may receive by a moral and spiritual awakening through the churches. And I believe the churches are destined to do the same great work for Socialism as they have done for anti-slavery and for temperance." With these remarks Comrade Barker of California encloses postal order for three dollars. He is a good missionary and deserves to be with us as a Comrade of the Cross.

Comrade Poor of Milwaukee is rich in good deeds and sends us a list of twelve subscriptions. He adds: "Our little Fellowship is working hard to get up some meetings for Comrade Carr when he comes this way. It seems to be rather difficult to get a church and may have to get a hall, but we will have something." Comrade Poor is the first district secretary since the Conference to get right after business in his own district and to arrange for a lively time at the local Center. Who is next?

"Enclosed find five dollars for five hundred Christian Socialists of June. Send them as soon as possible, as they are intended for distribution at the meetings of Comrade Carr. Yours in the cause, Thos. Joseph, Pa." Comrade Joseph is one of our bravest soldiers and his constant efforts are being crowned with much success. It would be well for the comrades all over the country to imitate him in this respect and order a bundle of the Christian Socialist every time there is a lecture or convention or large gathering of any kind, especially when it is of a socialistic nature. This is one of the best ways to secure interest and awaken thoughts.

"I have just finished reading the last issue of your paper and wish to say it is the best yet. It seems that you have the ability and sustaining power to make each issue better than the preceding one, although it seems it would be unreasonable to expect it. With this club and money order I also send stamps for a bundle of twenty-five with which I intend to bombard the ministers in hopes that some of them may be moved to subscribe and thus swell the list to the fifty thousand mark." This kind note accompanies a list of subscriptions which Comrade Maxwell of Illinois sends. He has before often given the Christian Socialist his attention and splendid support.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship

Prof. E. J. Ward, Secretary, Rochester, N. Y.
Rev. William A. Ward, Treasurer, Henderson, Ky.
National Executive Committee of Fifty Members

Municipal Building, Rochester, N. Y.,
June 26, 1907.

Dear Comrades:

A report is due from the new secretary; but I cannot send a report for two reasons; first, I have been in this office so short a time that I have as yet received no reports from the field, except the fine, big-hearted word from my good predecessor; second, I am in the midst of moving from Clinton, where, until the "maintainers" learned that I was a Socialist, I have been serving on the faculty of my alma mater, to Rochester, where I am to have charge of the Social Work in the public schools. I cannot send a report, but I would imitate the drummer boy at the Bridge of Lodi, who, when he was ordered to beat a retreat, answered: "I cannot do that, but, sir, I can beat a charge; oh, I can beat a charge that will make the dead fall into line." I would beat a charge that will make, not the dead, but those who might as well be dead for all the real work that they are doing to prove their Christian faith, fall into line. No one who was present at the Chicago Conference needs an urge from me. As we listened to the words of Comrades Carr, Bentall, Cooke, Strobel, Donaldson and the rest—the program they proposed and the leadership they offered—we all felt the call:

"His blood red banner streams afar;
Who follows in His train?"

But the rest of you, who could not be, or were not, there: to you I would say a word. The opportunity before us is the greatest that any men

and women ever had. The earnest people in the churches all over this land are ready, yes, and many of them eager, for a real, practical program for the embodiment of the spirit of Christianity, the realization of Brotherhood. They are ready for Socialism. All they need is to have it presented in a language which they understand—the terminology of Christianity, instead of in the language which they do not yet understand—the harsh terminology of bare economics. The one thing that is needed, as Edwin Markham said in his letter to the Conference, is "to make the dry body of economics glow with the poetic faith of a Mazzini," and to carry this living body of truth, or rather to follow this living Jesus, into the temples to drive out the commercialism that is making of my Father's House a—comfort club.

One thing that Miss Jane Addams said at the conference ought to be printed on every page, and read by every thinking man and woman in the country. "If Luther and the other Reformation leaders had helped instead of opposing the Peasant Revolt of 1524-1525, that social revolt would probably have been successful. If the vast resources of faith and zeal in the church to-day can be marshalled for Socialism, it will be invincible."

Not all at once can we do it, for the hold of the money power upon the pulpit to-day is like the hold of the nails in the hands of Christ—but it can be done and every one of us ought to rejoice that we are here to help do it. Every individual church member won to the cause makes it just that much easier to win the whole body. Every thoughtful, earnest presentation of the Socialist solution from a Christian platform means the removal of prejudice and the reduction of the problem. And I might say, every subscription to the Christian Socialist means, or is very likely to mean a conversion.

What we need is the spirit that will make us do what we can, even though it does not look to us like much. That is the determination that we carried away from the Chicago conference. That is the determination that every one of us must have if we are to be worthy of the opportunity that lies before us to-day. Most cordially,

Edward J. Ward.

Social Values—I.

(Continued from Page Three.)

form of railroads, coal-mines, gas-works, and other industries on which the people are dependent. Or he may become wealthy by sheer plundering of the community, as when he robs the nation of great tracts of land.

Such is the ethical effect of wealth upon most persons that they assume the man who accumulates a fortune must have done it by his energy, skill, initiative; and that it rightfully belongs to him because he has gained possession of it. They disregard the fact of the social nature of all wealth production, and they credit to the millionaire an ability he does not possess. They are right, however, in so far as they assume that the man of great wealth is not a mere robber or thief, that he may not have been intentionally unjust or dishonest, and that his moral life may be as sound as that of the men who criticize him. The difficulty is that our theories of wealth are not modern, scientific or true to facts. We take our philosophy of wealth from an era when production was more distinctly individual than it is at present, and we ignore the fact that all wealth to-day is essentially social in its origin and nature. To whatever extent wealth may be individually controlled, it is not individually produced in any of the forms where great accumulation is possible.

All the great fortunes of to-day have been accumulated by means of the control of natural monopolies. The same skill where the monopoly did not exist would have produced nothing approaching the same amount of wealth. The wealth is not therefore the result of ability or social service, but of power to control monopolies. That power is usually the result of the control of legislation, by making legal the turning of monopolies into individual channels.

The moment men are required to earn the wealth they control by genuine social service, that moment great wealth will cease. This does not mean that less wealth will be produced, but that it will be more widely distributed. The making it impossible to accumulate great fortunes is not a social menace, for it will restore the healthy relations between men, and prevent unjust monopolies of all kinds. What we are to fear is the present threat of wealth, its control of legislation, its mastery of cities and States, its corruption of politics, its debauchery of the ethical life.

It has been long agreed by all students of history and of political economy that the more widely wealth is distributed the more prosperous is a nation. When it is accumulated in a few hands danger begins and grows with threatening rapidity. We have not seen, however, until within a generation or two, what was the remedy, and how it was to be applied. Now we fully recognize the fact that wealth comes because of the "commonwealth," because of the associated life of the people, because millions of men work together industrially and honestly, each performing his task, which makes for the combined result. Recognizing that wealth is socially produced, that is, by the combined effort of many men working to the same common end, what we need is to have it socially distributed, that is, that it shall go in just proportions to all who take part in its production, according to the measure of what each man contributes to the combined result.

It is not enough to assume that because men of wealth use their riches for the public good in contributing to the building of universities, libraries or other institutions devoted to social service, that therefore their wealth is being most wisely used. Let the workers have what they earn and all they earn, and permit them to use it in whatever way they think best. If they wish for libraries, they will pay for them; but if they are not willing to pay for them, it is better they should not have them. Wealth not justly controlled can never be of the most effective social service, however lavishly it may be used for the public good.

What Laws Are "Constitutional?"

In order to determine whether any measure is "constitutional," it is advisable to consider the reason given for the existence of the constitution itself. And "lest we forget" hark to the reason. "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, promote the general welfare, provide for the common defense, secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, etc., do ordain and establish this constitution of the United States." Now it is an undeniable fact that any law that does not serve that purpose should at once be made void. That a competitive system of government under which Mammon is king, has utterly failed to bring about the desired result, is plain to the dullest mind. How, then, can that be obtained for which the framers of the constitution sought? Plainly by a co-operative commonwealth. That such a government is in harmony with God's law is fully illustrated in the organization of the gospel church by the apostles under Christ's directions. "They had all things in common" and co-operated together in the interest of the kingdom until the spirit of the world crept in and pure love out. It was the second "Holy nation" and a type of the third "Holy nation." The Kingdom of Heaven for which Christ taught his disciples to pray and which is even now at hand.—Priscilla.

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